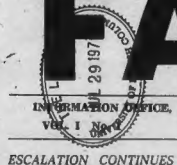


PRR



ESCALATION CONTINUES

Al-Fateh Commandos Launch Massive Attack on 40km. Jordan Valley Front

ASSIFA commandos of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh, launched September 18 a massive night attack on 10 Israeli positions extending over a 40-kilometer Jordan Valley front from Shuwayr in the north to the Dead Sea in the south.

The announcement was made September 19 by a military spokesman for the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command. He described Israeli casualties and equipment losses as 'heavy.'

The spokesman said a 'Operation Farhan al-Seedi' started at 7 p.m. September 18, when several ASSIFA units penetrated into occupied territory supported by medium and heavy mortar and engineering squads.

The attack was launched at 8:15 p.m. against guard posts at Umm Bida, Tamounyah, Qasr, Umm al-Wattad, Telleh al-Najjar, Mandash and Umm Nakhal, shortly after the engineering squad had opened several gaps in the enemy's defense lines.

By 9 p.m., the ASSIFA commandos were able to include three other ports — Shuwayr, Jundaliyah and Turkumanyeh — as well as a number of advanced ambushes.

Several posts were overrun by the ASSIFA freedom fighters in running battles of confrontation which lasted over two hours.

A number of the enemy sources of heavy artillery and land-to-land rockets which tried to intervene against the ASSIFA commandos were silenced.

An attempt by Israeli helicopters to drop reinforcements was foiled by

the ASSIFA men. A similar attempt by the enemy to rush motorized troops into the battle area was also foiled.

The ASSIFA forces started to pullout to their bases under heavy cover at 11:30 p.m. The pullout was completed at about 1 a.m., September 19.

Enemy ambulances and rescue squads were seen evacuating casualties throughout the night. ASSIFA casualties were limited to two injuries.

As reported by Reuters and Agence France Presse, journalists and villagers watched from a hill on the River Jordan's East Bank as ASSIFA commandos attacked the Israeli positions on the occupied West Bank.

According to Reuters' a 'Machine gun and mortar fire and rockets were visible in the night sky in a cross-fire from both sides.'

The massive raid marks another step in the escalation of the popular armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine which was started by al-Fateh's military arm on New Year's Day in 1965.

In fact, shortly after the June War of 1967, al-Fateh started to move from its 'protection base' in Syria to its 'pillar base' on the East Bank. There, it enjoyed natural immunity, mass support and sufficient armed forces for protection and confrontation.

Shortly after al-Fateh consolidated its base on the East Bank, the enemy attempted to uproot them by launching a vast but unsuccessful retaliatory operation against al-Karamah on March 21, 1968 with the intent of occupying the heights on

the East Bank of the River Jordan.

The battle of al-Karamah, which witnessed the defeat of the enemy and his withdrawal marked a new phase in the revolutionary war. Al-Fateh moved from the 'hit and run' phase to that of 'limited war of confrontation.' The latter phase implies confrontation with the enemy in short and open battles with the intention of annihilating the largest number of his troops and destroying their morale.

The battle of al-Karamah, which was planned and fought out by al-Fateh, aimed at realizing the following objectives:

1. Conservation of the idea of steadfastness before the enemy's offensive so as to raise the morale of the Palestinian and Arab masses in the wake of the June setback.

2. Destruction of the enemy's morale by inflicting on his forces the heaviest losses possible.

3. Realization of complete integration between the revolution and the masses and increasing the people's confidence in the fedayeen and their ability to confront and defeat the enemy.

Israeli "Defense"

Analyzing 'defense' outlays in the Middle East, the British Institute for Strategic Studies says Israel is spending the highest proportion of its Gross National Product on 'defense,' at 18.1 percent, or \$24 dollars per head in 1968.

Israel's 'defense' outlay in 1968 amounted to \$285 million — the highest individual outlay in the Middle East area.

October 1, 1968

4. Increasing the rapprochement between the fedayeen and the Jordan Army through a common battle.

5. Liquidation of counter-revolutionary forces on the East Bank by discrediting their doubts about command action and its ability to confront the enemy and protect its masses.

6. Pulling the rug from under the feet of the proponents of the political solution by raising the confidence of the Arab masses in their ability to achieve victories in a popular war led by its commando vanguard.

7. Testing the confidence of the commandos themselves and their ability to move into the phase of limited confrontation in all operations.

These objectives were achieved by al-Fateh at al-Karamah. The freedom fighters did subsequently attack the second stage of strategy — namely the war of limited confrontation. They were able to score victories in most of the battles which they fought... Simultaneously their battle experience developed and they acquainted themselves with the enemy's tactics and his military potentials.

The revolutionary war in Palestine thus moved into a third phase — that of 'mobile war,' where, by large numbers of fighters would attack an enemy post or stronghold, occupy it for several hours clear it and then return to base.

This was implemented for the first time at al-Himsh on May 2, 1968. The occupied town, famous for its mineral and therapeutic waters, was held for three hours after

(Continued page 7)

Student Unions Vow Support For Palestine Revolution

Student unions and organizations representing nearly 20 countries from four continents have resolved to endorse, Palestinian freedom fighters in their struggle to liberate their Homeland and to establish a democratic state in Palestine where Jews, Muslims and Christians will have equal rights and obligations, irrespective of race, sex, color or creed.

Support for the Palestine revolution and its objectives was expressed in an official statement at the closing session of the International Seminar, 'University Today,' held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, August 18-20.

The statement was signed by the student unions and organizations of Yugoslavia (JUB), The Netherlands (NSR), Poland (ZSP), the Soviet Union (SCUSSR), Bolivia (CUB), Slovakia (ZVS), Ireland (USI), Kenya (SUUC), Finland (SYL), Tunisia (UGET), India (NCUBI), Hungary (NSHOOC), Morocco (UNEM), Romania and Moravia (RUB), Palestine (GUBS), Japan (ZENGAUKUREN), the United Arab Republic (GUBUAR), Ecuador (SC), Bulgaria (SC), and Portugal (SEEPPE) as well as the International Union of Students (IUS), the Committee of Student European Association (CSEA), the International People's Friendship Club, Beograd (KMP).

The statement said the signatories 'believe in the role of the national and international student movements in leading the student body toward a better society which would eliminate the exploitation of man to man and which would be free of colonialism, imperialism and racism.'

It asserted the need to mobilize the student and popular masses in support of the just struggle of the people under oppression in Asia, Africa and Latin America, particularly in Vietnam, Palestine, Rhodesia, Angola, the Mozambique, South Africa, Guinea and Nigeria.

The statement concluded 'Zionist presence in Palestine is part of the imperialist intrusions in the Middle East. It said 'the armed struggle waged by the vanguard of the Palestinian people is the decisive means to force recognition of the people's right to self-determination and national liberation.'

The statement concluded 'We consequently support the struggle of the Palestinian liberation fighters to establish a democratic state in Palestine in which Palestinians — Muslims, Christians and Jews — would enjoy equal rights...'

Al-Fateh Commandos Overrun Enemy Settlement in Galilee

ASSIFA commandos of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh, September 21 overran, destroyed and set on fire an enemy settlement and two military posts south of the Sea of Galilee.

A spokesman for the Palestine Armed Struggle Command said the operation, named after Palestinian martyr Abdul Kader al-Bayani, was carried in heavy enemy casualties.

The overrun targets included Kfar Rappin settlement and Tel Kayed and Tel Tibah outposts.

All through the operation, the RASC spokesman

said, al-Fateh commandos had complete control over the area and cut all enemy communications and assistance.

He said enemy posts were overrun after an hour-long battle during which the commandos silenced all enemy fire except for continuous, aimless mortar shelling coming from another area. While ASSIFA men returned safely to base carrying three of their wounded comrades, enemy helicopters and ambulances were seen racing to the bleeding area, the spokesman stated. He described enemy losses as extremely high, both in lives and property.

AL-FATEH AND THE LEFT

Notwithstanding the varied definitions of the Left in general, it can be safely stated that all genuine Leftist movements seek to end man's exploitation of man, start by refusing a given condition or structure and proceed to change it by resistance or struggle and revolt.

The aspect of resistance is armed struggle and, in such context, al-Fateh is more leftist than any other. Not only does it intellectually reject a status quo or given condition, but its rejection is a practical one — it is active and dynamic.

Within this frame of reference, the Communist Party in Jordan for instance is Rightist because it has failed to join the national movement which has taken up arms to change the status it has rejected.

There are variances as well in World Socialist enterprises, from Yugoslavia & Poland, to Rumania and China.

As long as there are such differences over the social content of these experiences and as long as every social content is inevitably changing with time, it is just easy to predict the future and define, outright, a theoretical social content for the Palestine revolution.

Nevertheless, al-Fateh believes that the social content for the Palestine revolution is bound to safeguard two basic objectives:

1. Doing away with man's exploitation of man.
2. Implementing social justice.

Al-Fateh is already putting these two broad objectives to practice.

To accuse al-Fateh of having bourgeois inclinations just to not restricting the Palestine revolutionary struggle to the class of peasants and workers is to say the least, unfair. The authors of such accusations ignore the fact that al-Fateh represents a peculiar but wider class — the class of uprooted, displaced and oppressed Palestinians.

Eight Gaza Citizens Sentenced by Enemy

GAZA — An Israeli military court sentenced Sept. 11, 22 year old Palestinian to 200 years imprisonment with hard labor on charges of belonging to the Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh.

Abdallah Abu Khawash was also convicted of hurling grenades against the occupants in Gaza City possessing arms and mines.

The day before, on September 3, three other Palestinian Arab residents were sentenced to terms ranging from 15 years to 18 months imprisonment in this occupied city for resistance activities.

Na'im el-Kidra, 29, accused of blowing up culverts in the south-eastern part of the Gaza Strip, was sentenced to 15 years.

His 18 year old brother, **Sabri**, was jailed for five years on the same charge.

Rissak el-Dagah, 63,

convicted of possessing sub-machineguns, received a lighter 18-month term in view of his age.

On Sept. 8, four other alleged members of commando groups in the occupied Gaza Strip were jailed for terms ranging from eight to 20 years.

New Zionist Propagandist

LONDON — **Yvi Harmer**, born Harold Harmer 45 years ago in London, has arrived in London from Israel recently to open a propaganda bureau to spearhead a new Zionist campaign in Britain and Western Europe.

Officially, his job is to maintain «fraternal» contact with the Socialist International which has its headquarters in London. Unofficially, he will be trying to undermine support for the Palestine revolution particularly by the New Left.

AL-FATEH AS A MOVEMENT

The Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh, is neither a Party nor a Front. It is a Movement.

The Party has a fixed social ideology. The Front groups organizations within the context of a specific plan of action.

The basic element of a Movement is dynamism. It accepts basic principles as well as assumptions but subjects its thoughts to practice and experience. Through motion and dynamism the Movement builds its intellectual content.

Al-Fateh does not believe in inertia nor in static reasoning. It has basic principles and conceptions. But its intellectual content cannot crystallize except through dynamic and pragmatic experience. Its dynamism is cybernetic. This cybernetic dynamism is essential for the success of an active Movement like al-Fateh.

Theory is the offspring of experience and practice is a test for thoughts and positions.

Al-Fateh is in continuous motion, subjecting all its conceptions and policies to practice, modifying and altering them to the point where it can use this mental dough to build its intellectual content.

Thus, as a Movement, al-Fateh refuses to be static and cannot delineate the map of the future through metaphysical reasoning.

A Lasting Peace or the Seeds of War?

«A peace, to be lasting, must leave no seeds of a future-war», so uttered America's Richard Nixon before delegates from 136 countries at the United Nations General Assembly on September 18.

The leader of the «free» world carried on to say, «we are convinced that peace cannot be achieved on the basis of substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East». Failing a settlement, an agreement on the limitation of the shipment of arms to the Middle East might help to stabilize the situation.

Nixon's statement confirmed the general press reports suggesting a new strategy of U.S. action in the Middle East originated by Henry Kissinger, Joseph Alsop et al. Like Johnson, Nixon considers the Palestine Problem as part of the game of big power politics. The human or legal aspects of the problem and the inalienable rights of the Palestinians are of no concern to him.

The general strategy of the United States in the Middle East has centered around the outlook that the 1967 Israeli victory was an American victory, that this victory should be maintained and, as such, a new war should be prevented. The only hope the U.S. saw in preventing a seemingly inevitable slide into another war was with effective outside intervention.

In the past two years, this U.S. strategy of intervention was shown through joint U.S. — Soviet pressures on both the Arabs and Israel.

However, the Libyan coup and the Soviet naval build-up in the Mediterranean in response to U.S. moves in Asia and Eastern Europe led the U.S. to change its tactics and opt to consolidate her position in the region as well as prevent an all-out war by strengthening Israel further.

At the same time, the U.S. calculated that her new tactic may lead to it. In the Middle East and might affect her vital oil interests (despite the propaganda she is spreading, here and elsewhere, about Alaskan oil fields).

To avoid sharpening her difficulties with the Arabs the U.S. therefore resorted to show the Arabs that they need her more than she needs them (as she is advertising particularly in Lebanon) and, at the same time, requested from Israel restraint from con-

quering new Arab land. To sell Israel these new tactics the U.S. had to pay a price.

The price was negotiated around the interests of both Israel and the U.S. which are, thanks to Kissinger et al., compatible. Both saw that the toughening of the Arab stand and the increasing confidence in their military power is an alarming position. Thus they both sought to destroy the Arabs confidence in their military ability to win a major war by guaranteeing Israel's military superiority.

Guaranteeing Israel's superiority was what Israel is presently asking for and what America is willing to pay if Israel plays the game of power politics by, briefly, this game in the Middle East consists of maintaining the 1967 ceasefire line until a lasting (submissive) settlement is reached, and reorienting a military superior Israel to hold her present line while hitting at the neighbouring Arab states in surprise moves behind the lines.

The aim of this new American strategy is to humiliate the Arabs and force them to seriously consider the U.S. terms for submissive settlement. At the same time this strategy assures Israel that she no longer needs to launch full scale pre-emptive war but merely needs to launch deterrent strikes more than before.

On September 11 Moshe Dayan told the Washington Post correspondent that Israel «is not for settling itself the objectives of conquering areas of strategic importance deep within enemy territory... In addition to defending our present lines, we shall deliver counter blows along their length and breadth».

With this new strategy in mind Israel launched its recent raid across the Gulf of Suez. This raid was carried out with Washington's approval and advance knowledge. It is no coincidence that the raid occurred shortly after the arrival of the first shipment of U.S. Phantom to Israel.

«A peace, to be lasting, must leave no seeds of a future-war», perhaps is the most profound statement Nixon uttered. But the seed of a future war can only be eliminated through recognition of the inalienable rights of the Arab Palestinians to their usurped and occupied homeland.



THE PALESTINE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

AL-FATEH

This is the cover of a pamphlet which has just been issued by the Information Office of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh. Copies of the 12-page pamphlet which deals briefly with the history of the Palestine problem, the emergence of al-Fateh, as well as its aims, objectives and position vis-à-vis Israel, the Arab Countries and the United Nations can be obtained by writing to Post Box 4447, Beirut, Lebanon.

"A PRISONER OF MY ENEMY"

IT PAINS ME NOT TO BE ABLE TO OFFER MORE.

"A Jewish leader is an A-Patch man," ran the headline in the Israeli magazine, "Ha'olam Hatzah" (This World) of March 20, 1968.

Kamal al-Nahari, the subject of this article in the Israeli magazine, is indeed of Jewish descent. His mother came from the wealthy Kleiner orthodox Jewish family — her elder brother, Moasha, is the general manager of the Mizrahi Bank in East Jerusalem, while his second brother, Abraham, is one of the prominent leaders of the Histadrut.

But Kamal is a Palestinian first. His life symbolizes the plight of all Palestinians: Jews, Muslims, and Christians alike. He is a living example of the tragedy of his nation.

Kamal was sentenced to life imprisonment in Israel for participating in a number of commando operations. He was arrested while writing a report about a successful operation to the Higher Command of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fatah. Directly after his arrest, the Israeli authorities took him to the Abu Ghosh area in Jerusalem where they blew his family's house as an immediate punishment.

"You can blow our homes but you will never be able to take away our lands with you," was

cause is endless. "I hope next year we will be together in Jerusalem," he wrote to his mother in another letter.

Born in Palestine in 1940, of a Jewish mother and a Muslim father, Kamal is a firm believer in the necessity of armed struggle for the liberation of Palestine from the yoke of Zionist occupation and injustice.

After the 1948 exodus, Kamal remained with his family on the West Bank of the Jordan valley. He later studied architecture at Cairo University, then returned to Jerusalem only to find himself again confronted with war in 1967. Cut off from his family who he then moved to Kuwait, from his fiancée in Egypt, and from his land which was expropriated by Israel, Kamal faced a bleak future under the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem.

According to the Israeli paper "Ha'olam Hatzah" this "handsome, blue-eyed young man" who is of increasing popularity among the Israelis and was close to their hearts. He was active in pursuing his hobby of shooting pigeons and in touring all possible Israeli cities.

A prisoner of the enemy now, Kamal's only complaint is that he is not able to actively offer more.

Historical Background of Resistance in Palestine

In 1915, Sharif Hussein of Mecca, the ruler of the Hejaz under the Ottoman Empire, sent his younger son Faisal to Damascus. Faisal's mission was to make contact with the leaders of the Syrian nationalist movement (1). He returned on June 10th, like Noah's dove, bringing news of the region. He also brought with him a document which has since become known as the Damascus Protocol. This protocol contained the necessary conditions for the nationalists' co-operation with Britain in her war against the Turks. They included amongst other things, that the independence of the Fertile Crescent and the Hejaz be recognized under the leadership of Hussein. In return preferential defense and economic treaties would be drawn up with Britain.

The nationalist movement was formed from a number of secret societies which had first appeared in Syria at the turn of the century. Originally they were merely decentralization and autonomy within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Many Arabs before him had even worked with the Young Ottoman Movement as members of the "Committee of Union and Progress." After this rise to power in Istanbul

however, the CUP had become steadily more Turkish in orientation, and the Arabs had been obliged to leave it and to form their own societies and parties. As disillusion with Turkish rule increased, ideas of autonomy began to be replaced by ideas of complete independence.

As a result of the publication of the Damascus Protocol in August 1915, Gamal Pasha, the Turkish Governor of Syria, swiftly rounded up and executed a large number of leaders and suspected leaders of the nationalist movement. More executions followed in May 1916. There is no doubt that at this time the enemies of the nationalists were seen to be the Ottoman Turks.

The nationalist movement had adopted various forms of activity at different periods. Initially it had formed secret literary and political clubs. Later these became public and held a number of conferences and panels. Ultimately the movement developed into an armed revolt when the British, together with Sharif Hussein's forces attacked Syria in 1916.

With the conclusion of World War I, and in spite of the many promises of independence which had been made, Syria was im-

mediately occupied and its territory divided between Britain and France. Thus the first phase of the nationalist movement ended with the British replacing the Ottoman in Palestine.

The phase of conflict and resistance

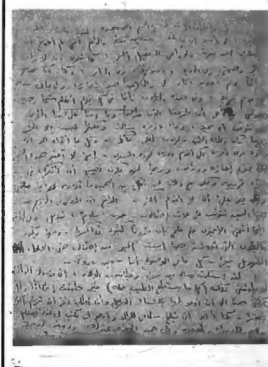
In an oral declaration, Mr. Hani al-Hussein, one of the leaders of the Palestinian nationalist movement during the Mandate period, stated that the delegation of nationalist leaders had met with the British Military Governor of Palestine in 1918. They had expressed their apprehension concerning the possible consequences of the Balfour Declaration and the Governor had advised them to follow the example of the Jews in requesting a National Home.

As a result of this meeting, "Islamic Christian societies" were formed in every possible city and village with the purpose of demanding from the British Government the annulment of the Balfour Declaration. Between 1918 and 1933 three of these societies convened about 1000 delegates to three delegations to negotiate with the British Government in London.

Throughout this period it was the Zionists who were seen as the main enemy of Arab nationalist hopes in Palestine, and thus conflict tended to be along racial and religious lines. In 1939, the Shaw Commission was sent to investigate the causes of the large scale Arab revolt which had begun in 1936. The Commission reported that the underlying causes were Arab feelings of hatred and distrust towards the Zionists and that the basic reason for this hatred was the failure of the Arabs' own political and national aspirations together with fears for their economic future.

The racial and religious character of the struggle at this time was largely a result of misunderstanding due to the inadequacy of Jewish and national feudal-type leadership. This had been helped by Britain's conscious deflection of the resistance movement into certain channels so that it was directed at the Jews as a religious group. In this way

(Continued on page 8)



Ramleh, 31/10/1968
My Beloved Brother,

"I find greetings, hoping that you and all are in good health. I received your last letter in which you mention that you got only two of my letters. To be frank, I didn't expect any to reach you. There is no need to elaborate further."

"As you can tell, I'm still fine; as solid as steel and with a firing morale. My faith in the motto we used to chant always — 'Blood, Steel, Fire' — increases every day."

"I am learning new things every day under my present conditions and believe me, brother, our path is unambiguous now. As long as we follow this path we shall not be divided. Precious blood has been shed but it is the price for what we strive to achieve. No mat-

ter how high the price is, our goal is more precious than us. The movement is to be able to resume my role in our march once more. 'I consider this prison term as mere vacation and a period of study. Perhaps it won't be my lot to leave it in the near future. I do not underestimate what I have contributed in the past, but it pains me not to be able to offer more. Actually, the chances of my leaving this prison depend on three possibilities: war, peace, or exchange of prisoners. I hope for the latter though I hope that our fighters stand in its way. In any case, the conditions I am facing here are not beyond my endurance. All that matters is that I am a prisoner of my enemy."

I received a letter from Bushak (1) and a card

from Mother. (8) My mother's condition worries me. The treatment I am getting is all what the doctor can do, is not in the least assuring. I can do nothing but to pray for her speedy recovery and ask her to pay more attention to her health."

Please give my regards to Father. I hope that he will write me soon. Greetings to Fadia, her husband and to all the brothers at your end."

Your brother
KAMAL

1 — Bushak, a student at the American University at Cairo, is Kamal's brother. Their wedding was to take place in March 1968.

2 — At the time Kamal was writing this letter, his mother, Hajj, was dead in a hospital in Germany. She never received her son's letter.

• THE IMPOSSIBLE •

The Poetry of Resistance in Occupied Palestine

Poetry can seldom be translated without losing much of its originality and impact. This is certainly true of poems translated from Arabic and composed by Palestinian Arab poets who have endured the yoke of Zionist occupation of their homeland for over 21 years.

Most of these Palestinian Arab poets, now living under occupation, were caught in the tragedy of their uprooted country in their childhood or adolescence. They have been dubbed as "Israeli Arabs who have learned to accept Israel as a fact."

Their poems refute the claim — particularly that each line was a warrant for imprisonment.

The anguish, hope and prophesy expressed in their verse is sufficient proof that the struggle for the liberation of Palestine, from within and beyond, has never stopped.

In fact, popular poetry played a big role in the history of Palestine since the 1920's and was famous all over the Arab World.

Nearly every Palestinian knows and recites the following popular lyric which was accompanied by a Palestinian struggler just before he was executed by the British Mandatory authorities in 1936.

Night: let the captive finish his song,
By dawn his wing will flutter
And the hanged one will swing
With the wind.

Night: lessen your pace,
Let me pour my heart to you.
Perchance you forgot who I am
And what my troubles are.

Pity, how my hours have slipped
Down your hands.

Do not think I weep from fear,
My tears are for my country
And for a bunch of unfledged birds
Hungry at home
Without their father.

Who will feed them after me?
My two brothers
Before me swung on the scaffold.

And how will my wife spend her days
Lonely and in tears?
I did not even leave a bracelet
Round her wrist
When my country cried for arms.

Popular lyrics dominated the scene for almost ten years after the 1948 Exodus before any well-developed literature of resistance appeared. It became the medium by which the occupied and oppressed Palestinians expressed themselves. It dominated every manifestation of their life, including weddings, mourning and social gatherings. Many popular poets were thrown in jail or placed under house arrest by the Zionist occupation forces.



Yet, as persecution mounted, the poetry of resistance consolidated itself to emerge with an astonishing revolutionary spirit completely free from the taint of sadness and lamentation which often characterized the poetry of exile.

In the poetry of resistance, love of a woman is completely integrated with love of the Homeland. All happenings are considered transitional and certainly conquerable. The enemy is a challenge and defiance which must be exposed and put face to face with the staunch and fearless spirit of the Palestine freedom fighters.

Here is such a poem of Palestinian resistance entitled "The Impossible" by Tewfik Sayad:

It is much easier for you
To pass an elephant through a needle's eye
Or catch fried fish in galaxy,
Plough the sea,
Or humiliate a crocodile,
Than to destroy by persecution
The shimmering glow of a belief
Or check our march
On single step.

As if we were a thousand prodigies
Spreading everywhere.
In Lidda
In Ramallah
In the Galilee.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
And in your throat we shall stick
A piece of glass,
A cactus thorn,
And in your eye
A blazing fire.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
Cleaning dishes in your bars,
Filling cups for your masters,
Sweeping your sooty kitchens,
To snatch a bite from your bus fangs
For our hungry children.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
Facing starvation,
Struggling with rage,
Defying,
Singing our songs,
Swarming the streets with our wrath,
Filling your dungeons with pride,
Rearing vengeance in new generations.

Like a thousand prodigies
We roam along
In Lidda,
In Ramallah,
In the Galilee.

Here we shall stay
Go then and think the sea.
Here we shall stay
Unbuckling cantinella on our earth and trees.
Here we shall stay
To ferment our cause as yeast does dough.
Here we shall stay with ice-cold nerves,
Red hell in our nerves and hearts.
We squeeze the rock to queen our thirst
And lull starvation with dust,
But we shall not depart.
Here we shall spill our dearest blood.
Here we have
A past
A future
Here we are the unconquerable.
So strike deep, strike deep,
My roots.

Israelis Seal off Hebron Alleys
After Attempt on Governor's Life

HEBRON — Israeli occupation troops and police sealed off the winding alleys of a teeming Palestinian Arab marketplace here September 11 in search for commandos who tried to kill the Israeli military governor. Dozens of Palestinian Arabs were rounded up and taken for interrogation to the Israeli governor's headquarters behind tall barbed-wire fences on a hill overlooking this occupied town.

The governor, Lt. Col. Ofer Ben David, escaped here September 10 when a grenade was tossed into his small military sedan in the old market. The grenade failed to explode, but the Israeli occupation authorities immediately clamped a curfew on the area and began picking up suspects.

Hebron, a sun-baked town of 60,000 Palestinians, lies 25 miles south of Jerusalem and about the same distance west of the Dead Sea. It has been a hotbed of Palestinian resistance since the occupation, with repeated shootings and grenade attacks.

Soon after sunrise September 11, Israeli occupation troops took up positions around the market and blocked off the narrow alleys with armored cars. No one was allowed to enter as the occupation troops rounded up more Palestinian Arabs for questioning.

Governor Ben David declined to receive newsmen in the well-guarded military compound.

But an Israeli Defense Ministry spokesman said the curfew has not been lifted. He stressed it had been a security measure to protect the lives of the people, not a punitive action.

No official estimate was available of the number of Palestinian Arabs held for interrogation. The questioning is going on, the occupation spokesman said.

OURS IS A
REVOLUTION
UNTIL
VICTORY

BOOK REVIEW

DE-ZIONIZATION OF ISRAEL ONLY BASIS FOR PEACE SAYS UN OFFICIAL DAVIS

John H. Davis is the fourth former UN official (three of them Americans) to write a book on the facts and background of the Palestine problem. His book "The Evasive Peace" goes a step further than those written by E. H. Hutchison, Norman Burns and Carl Van Horn in that it concludes clearly and unequivocally that de-zionization of Israel is the only eventual basis for peace.

Says the former Commissioner General of UNRWA and one time UN Assistant Secretary of Agriculture: "The basic rights of the Palestine Arabs must be restored and in a manner that no longer leaves them scattered against their will throughout the Arab World and beyond. They must again have a homeland — the people of Israel should understand this need even better than other people. Whatever form of government may emerge, it must recognize the rights of Palestine Arabs of full citizenship in the Area that was Palestine, and on a basis that provides for self rule... Peace will eventually come to the Middle East as the Zionist - based cause of conflict is eliminated, either by peaceful means or by war."

The book faced a malicious campaign when it first appeared because the Zionists were unable to accept the truth coming from an American who could neither be accused of anti-Semitism nor of ignorance. As Commissioner General for UNRWA, the author spent several years in the Middle East, and was in constant contact with the Palestine people he came to understand their legitimate grievances. By acquainting himself with the Palestine problem personally and on the spot, Mr. Davis was able to avoid the influence of the Zionist propaganda machinery which normally confuses Europeans and Americans in their interpretation of Palestine and Arab events.

This search for the truth, Mr. Davis looks to the past for the seeds of the conflict which today endangers the whole world. He devotes three chapters to the birth of Zionism and the roles of T. Herzl and C. Weizmann in the establishment of the Zionist movement. He discusses the methods they used to accomplish this goal and clarifies the part played by Britain especially during the First World War. He then considers the consequences of the United States becoming a world power after World War II and describes the pressure applied by the U.S. to force the Partition Resolution through the United Nations.

Zionists Finds an Ally in Britain

One important and interesting part of the historical section includes some quotations from Herzl's "The Jewish State", showing that the author of Zionism "started by asking only for « a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation ». It did not matter where this portion was located, need not necessarily be Palestine, but fact during the Sixth Congress of the World Zionist Organization, Herzl pressed hard for the acceptance of Uganda as a Jewish National Home. The Seventh Congress however made clear the Zionists' intentions for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine. Mr. Davis describes Palestine at this time as a land of basic religious tolerance and tranquility. The 50,000 Jews living there were as much opposed to the idea of a Jewish State as the Moslems and Christians.

During this period, Britain played an important role in preparing for the creation of the State of Israel. She exploited the newly awakened Arab national consciousness and desire for independence by promising the nationalists help in return for their support in her war against the Turks. The Arabs were unaware that even while the negotiations with Sherif Hussein concerning independence were in progress, Britain was simultaneously concluding an agreement with France for the division of the area between them. In addition to this she also gave a "Declaration of Sympathy" for the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine.

In return for this Balfour Declaration, the Zionists were their considerable influence to ensure that the Mandate for Palestine went to Britain. They even succeeded in adding a clause to the final

draft stating that the Mandatory power was to be responsible for giving effect to the Balfour Declaration. All this happened in the face of strong Palestine Arab opposition.

U.S. Exerts Pressure : Palestine Partitioned

The author devotes a whole chapter to the years of the Mandate. He describes Palestinian resistance to Jewish immigration as soon as the British Military Administration was inaugurated. This resistance was stronger and more persistent than was expected and it was a great tragedy.

As a result of the 1936 Palestinian Arab revolt against the occupation and the increasing Jewish immigration, the British Government sent a Commission of Inquiry to Palestine. The Commission's report contained the first official admission that British promises to the Palestinian Arabs and imported Jews were irreconcilable, and suggested the partition of Palestine into two states. A subsequent commission however found partition unworkable and Britain declared in a white paper that Palestine would be ready for independence within ten years. During the first five years Jewish immigration would be limited to 75,000 per annum and it would then cease.

With the start of World War II the Palestine problem once again became an international issue and an argument to be of interest to the United States which had by then become an important world power. When Britain eventually declared that she could no longer carry the growing responsibilities of the Palestine Mandate and asked for the question to be put before the 1947 session of the United Nations, all parties to a direct interest in Palestine worked diligently to protect their interests. Thus when it came to the final vote on partition, the United States exercised great pressure on many delegations to gain their support for the resolution, and this was undoubtedly determined the outcome of the vote.

War Breaks out : an Unborn Beland

Under the title "Conflict Without End", Davis gives the details of the war which finally led to the establishment of the State of Israel. He describes some of the means used by the Zionists to terrify the Arab Palestinians and to force them to flee and abandon their attempts to resist.

The Zionists in Palestine were better organized and better financed. They had been preparing for this day for many years both militarily and politically. Within a short period, the Jewish Agency had become an instrument for the building of governmental institutions. The Irgun Zvai Leumi terrorist organization, together with the Haganah formed a strong army under the command of the Jewish Agency.

The situation was very different for the Arabs. Most of the Arab states had just gained their independence after centuries of colonial rule and were not in position to intervene effectively in favor of the Palestinian Arabs.

In 1948, Israel was able to hold a territory one third larger than that given to her by the Partition Plan.

Refugees Evicted by Force and Pressure

In discussing Palestine refugees, Mr. Davis reminds his readers of a fact not usually recognized by the Western world, namely that Palestine was always the most advanced of the Arab countries. This was especially true in the fields of economic development and culture. He quotes a few lines from the book "Israel and the Palestine Arabs" by Don Peretz as follows:

"As late as 1945, 350 of the approximately 400 Jewish settlements were on refugee property, and two thirds of the cultivated land acquired by Israel had been refugee-owned."

The author asks the question of the refugee has been discussed a lot but not always objectively.

He tells the story of the Deir Yassin massacre carried out by a joint Zionist terrorist group from the

Irgun and the Stern Gang. An eye witness working with the International Red Cross said that 254 men, women and children were killed and their bodies thrown into a well. Incidents like this caused terror among the defenseless Palestinians and many of them fled in panic.

The second idea is that the refugees left their country voluntarily or because the Arab authorities told them to do so. But as General Gubb has said, anyone who takes refuge voluntarily does not leave his home without taking anything but the clothes he is wearing, or in such terror and disorder that many husbands lost sight of their wives and parents of their children. Moreover, research conducted into the statements of the Arab Governments broadcast at the time showed that the people were urged not to leave their homes.

The Delat Plan is also discussed in the book. This was the military plan for making the whole of Palestine part of the Jewish State, if the Arab armies had not intervened, and a true peace imposed."

Davis recalls that one day before his assassination by Zionist terrorists, Count Bernadotte declared — « the right of innocent (Palestinian) people uprooted from their homes by the present terror and ravages of war to return to their homes should be affirmed and made effective ».

Israel is Forced on the Middle East

Davis then turns to a consideration of the State of Israel and the World Zionist Organization.

From the first moment, Israel conceived its mission to be the ingathering of most of the world's Jews. These are estimated to number 15 million, 2.5 million of whom only are in Israel. In this case, how can Israel afford a home for all the Jews in the world except through expansion, he wonders.

Zionist leaders decided to keep the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency and to make it an adjunct of the State of Israel. Under the laws of Israel all the diaspora Jews have an inherent right to citizenship in Israel and if they wish they choose to enter the country. This raises the question of dual loyalty of Jews who are citizens of other countries.

In his search for a solid basis upon which to build a policy for peace, Mr. Davis lists some of the fundamental facts of the present situation. First, Israel exists. Second, it could not have come into existence except through violence against the indigenous Arab population of Palestine. Third, the conflict between Arab and Jew has become an international issue of violence. Fourth, since its establishment, Israel has demonstrated an alarming degree of aggression towards the Arabs.

The Jews war did not solve Israel's fundamental problem. It did not bring peace. The occupation is alienating Israel with new problems. It has to resort to barbaric reprisals in keeping the occupied areas under control.

Israel, says Davis, has never admitted the wrongs and injustices committed since 1948 against the Palestinian Arabs. Zionist propaganda has managed to mislead world opinion.

Davis Concludes : De-Zionization Necessary

After all this, how does Mr. Davis see the future?

He considers that the policy adopted to date and the conflict must be both equitable and possible of implementation.

It is imperative, he says, that "the world understand that the one hope for ending Arab-Israeli conflict quickly and without war is for many nations to align themselves behind a concerted Jewish initiative to make Israel, even for her if necessary, to divest herself of the Zionist attributes that cause conflict and to make appropriate restitution." It would be imperative, he adds, "that the boundaries of Israel be opened to receipt of any and all Palestinian Arabs who have been expelled from their homes and now choose to return and live in their native communities. This should be their right under law."

Al-Fateh Commandos Escalate Their Operations As Resistance Mounts in Occupied Palestine

(Continued from page 1)

ter clearing it completely from enemy forces and the Palestinian flag was raised at two locations. All enemy military installations in and around the town were destroyed before the pullout.

The new strategy was also implemented at the battle of Sha'ha's and the battle of Jirsaam.

Though only eight commandos were engaged in the battle of Jirsaam in the Nabhus area last June 11, the enemy had to resort to his heavy artillery, air force and napalm bombs. The enemy's reaction to the battle of Jirsaam was to deploy his military might not only to end the battle quickly which he failed — but to discourage the escalation of commando operations into the new strategy.

The escalation of commando action went on unabated. On June 24, 1969, A.S.S.I.F.A. commandos struck deep inside occupied territory when they blew up the Haifa crude oil pipeline sending flames and smoke leaping over its Bay. Six days later, on June 30, A.S.S.I.F.A. met, struck in the heart of Tel Aviv. They seized, destroyed vehicles, loaded it with 120 kilograms of TNT and parked it midway between Tel Aviv's two main streets — Dizengoff and Ben Yehouda. The charge rocked the city, damaged the neighbouring buildings and stores and brought down telephone and electric lines.

On July 15, a second 75-minute attack was launched on the occupied town of al-Himneh. On July 23, A.S.S.I.F.A. explosive charges rocked the Egged bus terminal in Petah Tikva road in the center of Tel Aviv. Two days later, A.S.S.I.F.A. explosive charges went in to the Puri's square.

On August 3, an Israeli military camp (Tel-mahour) east of Tel Aviv was overrun by commandos and held for a whole night.

On August 8, Operation 'Green Belt' marked another landmark in the history of the Palestinian armed struggle. On that day, Palestinian flags were hoisted and pam-

phlets distributed at several locations falling in a triangular area covering Neve Ur, Yardenia and Bat Yosef settlements in the northern Jordan Valley (south of The Sea of Galilee) in the most daring and spectacular Palestinian commando attack against Israeli occupation forces since the Liberation War started.

Operation Green Belt was undertaken jointly by commandos from A.S.S.I.F.A., the Kadishyah unit of the Palestine Liberation Army and the Popular Liberation Force.

The operation covered a seven-kilometer stretch extending between Wadi Deera and Wadi Esh in the northern Jordan Valley. The attack covered three Israeli settlements — Neve Ur, Yardenia, and Bat Yosef — as well as three military posts — Tel Mousa, Tel Ismail and Tel Mousa. All of which are fortified and supported by artillery and tanks. Prior to the offensive, the Palestinian commandos were able to cut reinforcement routes at six locations, three to the north in Beers between Samakh — Beisan and the Jordan River and three others to the south in Wadi Esh.

The attack was three-pronged. One Unit attacked Yardenia settlement and Nakhes 224 Post, a second took charge of Neve Ur settlement and Tel Mousa. Post while the third unit moved against Bat Yosef settlement and Tel Ismail Post. Torpedoes were used to get through Israeli fortifications comprising mine fields, electric barbed wires and electronic fences. The gaps opened by the torpedoes allowed the Palestinian freedom fighters to break into the settlements and military posts.

The Palestinian commandos completely controlled all posts assigned to them and proceeded to blow up the vital installations falling within these specified targets. Palestinian flags were hoisted at all controlled areas. Pamphlets in Hebrew were also distributed.

Exactly a week later, on August 15, the daring A.S.S.I.F.A. commandos struck deep inside occu-

pled Palestine, blowing up oil installations near the port city of Haifa for the second time in less than two months.

On August 24, A.S.S.I.F.A. commandos executed Operation 'Spearhead' against Suwaymah post and neighboring enemy positions north of the Dead Sea after a preliminary mortar barrage. Despite the enemy's tank, artillery and rocket fire, the A.S.S.I.F.A. guerrillas destroyed the post, killing and wounding its occupants. Enemy attempts to evacuate casualties by helicopter were unsuccessful.

On August 26, occupied Jerusalem suffered its first rocket attack. Israeli helicopters searching for the point of attack discovered a nest of 13 Katyusha launcher pads still armed on a rocky hillside four kilometers southeast of Jerusalem. The enemy estimated that between 15 and 30 commandos must have carried the missiles up the barren slope. Three days later, a six-square mile area in Bat-Sabour where the launcher pads were found was sealed off by the Israeli occupation troops. The Israeli daily newspaper 'Haaretz' under an indefinite around-the-clock cordon. According to Tad Smul (New York Times of August 30) the move to close the Bat-Sabour zone 'emphasized the growing Israeli concern with internal security problems from accelerated guerrilla activities.'

On September 4, A.S.S.I.F.A. commandos inflicted punishing casualties and damage on Israeli forces in a series of heavy night battles in the Jordan River area.

The commandos, wearing leopard-spotted camouflage uniforms and carrying Communist-style automatic pistols, revolvers, grenades, and explosive charges, slipped under the cover of darkness.

'They attacked a string of 12 Israeli posts along a 13-mile front, according to a statement issued here by the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command. Simultaneously rockets were pumped into Israeli army camps at JIRSA and Ouf.

'When Israeli armor moved up a commando rear-guard fought a delaying action to enable their comrades to make good their retreat. Casualties were five dead and seven wounded — four of the dead and five of the wounded being among the rear-guard — the commando said.

'The overnight commando attacks conform to a pattern of growing aggressiveness on the part of the Fedayeen, who are launching more and more frequent raids into Israeli-held territory.

'In several recent raids they have abandoned their original hit-and-run tactics in favor of stand-up fights in which they have successfully held on to captured positions and beaten off Israeli counter-attacks.

'After the last comparable attack, operation 'Green Belt' in the same area, in which several Fedayeen groups cooperated last month, the Israeli daily 'Haaretz' described the East Ghor Canal which supplies the eastern half of the valley with vital irrigation water.

'A struggle command troops placed under day night's commando offensive was two-pronged, one operation being code-named 'The Bayonets of Fateh' and the other 'The Good Earth.'

'The two operations were staged in a triangle of land lying east of the River Jordan and immediately south of Lake Tiberias. Some of the land had been held by the Israelis since 1948 and some captured in the 1967 June war.

'The commandos assigned to 'The Good Earth' launched a simultaneous attack on the town of al-Himneh after blowing gaps in the Israeli defensive positions. The attackers broke into the town and 'exploded charges at pre-planned targets.'

'While fighting was raging in and around al-Himneh, other Fateh men fought their way into Tel-el-Hamra, a village on the targets of the 'Bayonets of Fateh' group.

'This operation involved attacks on a string of Israeli outposts from Tur-komiyah in the North to Suwaymah in the south.

'Observers here said that, even allowing for an element of exaggeration in the successes claimed by any troops fighting a guerrilla war, the amount of tempo of commando attacks in the Jordan Valley must be putting an increasing strain on Israeli resources, especially when the Lebanese and Syrian cease-fire lines are growing more active.'

The revolutionary struggle within the occupied homeland is also gaining momentum. Resistance and defiance to the occupation forces and demonstrations, in which the Palestinian women are playing a leading role, are witnessed daily in Jerusalem, Nabhus, Ramallah, Gush, Hebron and the other Palestinian towns and cities. Resistance in Gaza — despite the military, political and economic blockade imposed on the city — is stupendous. On August 13, Israeli Defense Ministry officials recognized

40 Stores Closed in Hebron While Travel Is Curbed; Scores Detained

JERUSALEM — A harsh Israeli clampdown on the occupied Hebron area on the West Bank curbed travel and banned the export of Palestinian farm produce.

The 'punitive' measures, imposed September 19, are the strictest yet by the occupation troops. They followed an increase in Palestinian resistance and commando activities in recent weeks and a visit to the district south of Jerusalem by Brig. Gen. Raphael Vardi, Israeli Military Governor of the occupied West Bank.

Checkpoint controls on the main approaches to Hebron which has a population of about 60,000 Christian and Muslim Palestinians and occupation troops are preventing all outgoing traffic from the city.

Under the new measures, Palestinian residents are not allowed to leave their homes except in Jerusalem without special permits.

One of the most recent attacks in the area was an attempt Sept. 10 on the life of the military governor, Lt. Col. Ofer Ben-David.

that Palestinian residents in occupied Gaza had escalated the nature of their operations. Instead of planting mines, their most common type of operation in the past, they now opened fire and tossed grenades and also attempted to eliminate collaborators.

The participation of Palestinian Arabs in the occupation since 1948 in the revolutionary struggle is also increasing. This was recognized by Francis Omer in the Christian Science Monitor of July 30.

Wrote Omer: 'One question they [Palestinian Arabs under Israeli rule since 1948] were constantly asked was — "what did you do for the Palestinian cause all these years?"

'Most of the younger generation of Israeli Arabs (also) seem to have been affected by the question — Their Palestinian awareness has become rekindled.'

The mountainous region around Hebron has also been the scene of a series of commando and resistance night attacks on occupation patrols.

Forty local stores which were shut down by the Israeli troops after the attempt on the governor's life, still closed Sept. 22. Several dozen people are also still under arrest. If the measures stay in force, they are expected to have a serious effect on the economy of the occupied area which depends for its livelihood on the marketing of farm produce.

More Deportation

JERUSALEM — Two Palestinian Arabs were deported from Hebron September 17 after being accused by the Israeli occupation authorities of cooperation with the Palestinian commandos.

The men, Hussein Bader, 35, a former Inspector of Education and Ibrahim Kawasma, 28, a pharmacist, were escorted by Israeli soldiers to the Allenby Bridge.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE

(Continued from page 5)

The British hoped to destroy its revolutionary potential. This deflection also provided the British with an excuse for staying in Palestine on the pretext of mediating between the two sides, but more important—it gave them a golden opportunity for attacking the organized movement of the Arab Palestinian masses.

The method of struggle adopted by the Arab leadership at this time was that of demonstration. Moreover, many spontaneous revolutionary uprisings occurred notably in 1920, 21, 22 and 29, all of which were characterized by violent and bloody clashes between Arabs and Zionists.

The phase of formulation

During the thirties the influence of the growing Arab bourgeois class began to increase within the leadership of the Palestinian nationalist movement. The changes which resulted became more and more evident in an article 'Britain: The Cause of the Problem,' (2) Subhi al-Khadra (3) stated that a Youth Conference held in Jaffa on March 6th, 1933, had passed a resolution of non-cooperation with the Mandatory Government. This conference is regarded by Sadiq Sa'd and Emil al-Ghauri as marking a turning point in the development of the Palestinian nationalist movement, for after this the real enemy was increasingly recognized as Imperialism and later as Zionism.

In July 1932, the Independence Party (al-Istiqbal) was formed, the first of a number of Palestinian

bourgeois parties, in an attempt to revitalize the nationalist movement and to focus its attention on confronting and restoring the British. The founding statement of the party accused the feudal-type leadership of inadequacy and inactivity and noted its preoccupation with an enemy artificially supplied by Imperialism for the expressed purpose of diverting the movement from its higher aims. The Party furthermore resolved to combat Colonialism and all its concomitant problems.

Thus demonstrations in October 1933 were not directed only against the Zionists but also against the Mandatory Government. At the start of the 1936 revolution, the Palestinian National Guard was a plea to the people stating that the British were the basis of the problem and the Zionists merely a side issue. The British regarded the people of Palestine with Zionism and they were shedding the blood of the people in consequence.

In this way the nationalist movement eventually arranged its enemies in the correct sequence, placing Imperialism at the top of the list. At the same time the tactics of struggle were improved, as was well illustrated by the uprising in November 1935. This became known as the Kassem Revolution and it represented a new type of confrontation in that it employed the method of armed struggle. To this extent, even though the uprising ended on the death of Izzidin al-Kassem and the other leaders, it was not wasted. It

convinced the Palestinian people not only of the possibility of armed struggle, but of its necessity in any confrontation with Imperialism and Zionism.

After the defeat

Following the defeat of the revolution in 1939, two conflicting tendencies could be discerned in Palestine. The first of these was represented by a defeatist and negative attitude. Those who took this attitude hoped to win the support of the West by the establishment of Information Offices in Western countries, through which the justice of the Palestinian cause could be published. Among the leading proponents of this idea were Musa Alami, Ahmad Shukeiry, Burhan Dajani, Wadi Tarni and Rashad al-Shawwa. They were supported by a number of other intellectuals who had been educated in the West and had absorbed Western thought. They believed that the first duty of an enlightened Arab nation must be to define its relationship with the Western countries on the basis of mutual respect and equality. The Arab nation should moreover adopt what was best from Western civilization.

Zionist policy constituted a major obstacle to the fulfillment of these duties however, because of its support it received from a substantial number of these countries. In fact Zionism began to be regarded by the Arabs as an example for illustrating Western intentions towards them.

The second tendency was embodied in the

ideas of the Left. In September 1934 the Arab communists split from the Palestinian Communist Party as a reaction against the claims which some of the Jewish members had begun to make. They claimed that following the lagathering of the Jews into Palestine and the restoration of the Hebrew language, a nucleus of a Jewish nationality had started to crystallize. The Arabs subsequently formed the 'League for National Liberty' and two of its members later took part in the Conference of World Labour Unions in Paris in 1945. These two members made a statement to the French News Agency in Paris that Zionism is not a racial but a political issue. If Zionism as they alleged themselves was as democratic to be they would not be fighting for a Jewish State but for an independent democratic Palestinian state. Participation in this conference led to Zionism being combated within the ranks of the Labour Movement and to its being exposed as essentially of an imperialist and capitalist nature. This in turn resulted in all World Labour assemblies being withdrawn from the Zionists.

On 11th January, 1938 the Political Office of the 'League for National Liberty' issued a communique stating that the leadership of the national struggle would be in the hands of the Arab people. The communique also reaffirmed the demands of the League for the elimination of the Mandate and the formation of an independent national and de-

mocratic government.

This same period, following the second World War, also saw the rise of several para - military organizations of a Fascist nature, such as the 'Nizjda' organization led by Mahmood al-Hawari, and the 'Futawa' organization formed from the 'Arab Party'. After the 1948 defeat the leaders of both these groups abandoned the struggle completely. The former fled to Occupied Palestine, placing himself at the disposal of Zionism, and the latter accepted the post of Advisor in another Arab country thus cutting all ties with the Palestine problem.

The phase of exile

The publication of the U.N. Partition Plan for Palestine on November 29, 1947, was the signal for troubles to begin again. Once more the leadership of the Nationalist Movement resorted to demagoguery and arbitrary actions. Nevertheless the Palestinians displayed tremendous courage in the defence of their cities and villages against the overwhelming Zionist force. As soon as the Arab armies entered Palestine on May 15th, 1948, led by Glubb Pasha, they immediately proceeded to deprive the Palestinians of their arms and their freedom of movement. Since that time many of the Palestinians have been in enforced exile from their own battlefields.

After the 1948 war, a new phase of resistance opened in which the Palestinians had to fight hard and long in order

just to preserve their identity and to regain their freedom of action.

On December 31st, 1964, in the evening, a huge explosion shook the north of Occupied Palestine proclaiming the start of yet another new phase of struggle in the history of the Palestinian people. On that day the Palestine National Liberation Movement, al-Fateh, undertook its first military operation inside the occupied territory. Thus began a phase in which the Palestinians could actively resume their right to resist. One of the few benefits to result from the June 1967 aggression was that it enabled the Palestinians themselves to assume their proper position in the vanguard of those fighting for the liberation of Palestine.

1. Prior to the Treaty of San Remo (1923) following World War I, 'Syria' comprised present day Syria, together with Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine.

2. This article was published in 'The Arab League'.

3. Subhi al-Khadra was at this time head of the Arab Executive Committee which had been formed from the conference of the 'Islamic - Christian societies' committees. It provided the leadership of the nationalist movement until 1935.

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